

MAORI CASUALTIES AT PUKEHINAHINA (GATE PA), 29 APRIL 1864

NIGEL PRICKETT

Abstract. Two generally unknown Maori casualty lists from the Battle of Gate Pa (Pukehinahina), Tauranga, 29 April 1864, are reproduced. These give the names of most Maori killed in the engagement, and are presented here together with other published information on Maori casualties. Information from the sources is compared to derive a list of 19 Maori dead who were laid out at the pa the morning after the battle, and later buried nearby. The names of other dead and wounded men are given where available. Further development of a Maori casualty list for Gate Pa is likely to depend on manuscript material and oral history.

KEYWORDS: New Zealand Wars; casualty list; Maori; Gate Pa; Tauranga.

INTRODUCTION

In early 1864 a British military expedition landed near the Te Papa mission station on the point of land now occupied by the city of Tauranga, with the two objectives of putting pressure on local tribes supporting the Maori King fighting European forces in the Waikato, and stopping further reinforcements for the Kingite cause from tribes to the east. Two major battles took place in the Tauranga Campaign of autumn and early winter 1864. On 29 April at Pukehinahina ('Gate Pa'), a small Maori force defeated a much larger British army in one of the best-known actions of the New Zealand Wars; on 21 June there was an equally emphatic European victory at Te Ranga, 5 km inland of Gate Pa. More than 200 Maori and Pakeha were killed at these two engagements, or died of wounds afterwards. This paper makes available generally unknown data on Maori casualties at Gate Pa, and derives a casualty list from the information. Some of the published record has been checked against original manuscript or typescript material.

The engagement itself is not described here. Official reports are in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, British Parliamentary Papers*, and *Selections from Despatches and Letters Relative to the Conduct of Military Operations in New Zealand 1860–5* published by the War Office in London. There are also valuable accounts in Auckland newspapers *The Daily Southern Cross* (reprinted in *The Weekly News*) and *The New-Zealander*. First hand Maori accounts are by Hori Ngatai in Mair's *The Story of Gate Pa* (Mair 1926:20–26), and by Heni Te Kiri Karamu in Cowan (1922–23 I:412–423). Typescripts of these two accounts show changes in the later printed versions (Cowan ms a; McDonald ms). The best recent account of the battle and its significance is by Belich (1986:178–188). A contemporary map showing the area of Te Papa and Gate Pa is given in Figure 1. The outstanding pictorial record of the battle is by Lieutenant Horatio Gordon Robley, 68th Regiment (see Fig. 3).

Gate Pa is now cut by Cameron Road, 4 km from the Tauranga city centre. East of the road a grassy reserve rises to a memorial that is within the area once occupied by the main Maori



Fig. 1. Contemporary map showing Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and disposition of British forces, and the mission station and British military camp at Te Papa. Map by Major G.R. Greaves, 70th Regiment, in Colonel Gamble's *Journals of the Deputy Quartermaster General in New Zealand* (War Office 1864).

fortification. A plaque on the memorial referring to ‘. . . unnamed Maoris who were killed at this battle and buried here’, is wrong in two important respects: there is good information on Maori casualties, and they are not buried at Gate Pa.

MAORI AT GATE PA

In his report dated 3 May 1864, the Civil Commissioner at Tauranga, Thomas Smith (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 63) relates information on the Maori force at Gate Pa from a wounded prisoner found in the pa the morning after the engagement:

‘The prisoner Reweti informed me that there were under 200 Natives in the entrenchments, principally belonging to Tauranga. The remainder were Ngati Paoa from the Thames, who had come over from the Waikato, with the Ngaiterangi [who returned home when the troops landed at Tauranga]. Judging from the size of the place, I think the number given by Reweti is correct, as it did not appear capable of holding more.’

Governor George Grey adopts the figure of 200 in his 6 May 1864 report to the Colonial Secretary in London (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 37).

Cowan (1922–23 I:413) gives the Maori force as follows:

‘The main *pa* . . . was garrisoned by about two hundred warriors of Ngai-te-Rangi with a few men of the Piri-Rakau and other tribes. The small *pa* was occupied by the party of Koheriki, under Wi Koka, of Maraetai . . . With them were about ten men of various tribes, chiefly Piri-Rakau. This wing of the Gate *Pa* was defended by not more than forty men, besides a brave young half-caste woman, Heni te Kiri-karamu (Heni Pore) . . . so that the total garrison of Puke-hinahina did not exceed two hundred and fifty.’

Cowan’s information comes partly from an account by Te Kiri Karamu, now in the Cowan Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library (Cowan ms a). Note that although of Arawa descent she identifies as Koheriki because she had relatives in that hapu of Ngati Paoa, and joined them in the fighting south of Auckland in 1863 and 1864 (Cowan ms a).

‘There were not quite forty people defending our wing of the Gate Pa. We Koheriki numbered 30, and there were besides about six men of the Piri-Rakau. Among those who were in the *pa* were Wi Koka (our leader), Timoti te Amopo (the *Tohunga*), Hori and Patu-witi (lay-readers, both killed), Ihaka (shot in the ankle and taken prisoner), Hone (wounded in the shoulder) Arema Karaka (missing, believed killed, Te Apaapa, Takurua, Taa, Te Paratene, Tukeka, Tamati Wake, Piha, Wi Tu-Wehewewe, Te Pekawhero, and Te Mawewai. These are all whose names I can recollect. Tukeka was a man of the Ngai-Raukawa tribe; Tamati Waka belonged to Ngati-Rangiwerehi, of Puhirua, Lake Rotorua.’

The record was made by James Cowan, ‘. . . taken down from her lips on Jan 2nd. and Jan. 4th, 1919’ (Cowan ms a). There are many errors in the typescript, especially in the spelling of Maori names, some corrected presumably by Cowan, but others not (e.g. Arama and Rangiwewehi).

Hori Ngatai of Ngaiterangi, who fought in the battle, describes Gate Pa as consisting of two strong-points on an entrenched line extending between the Waikareao and Waimapu arms of Tauranga Harbour (Mair 1926:22; see Oliver 1990a; and see Fig. 2). He describes the small pa as having been,

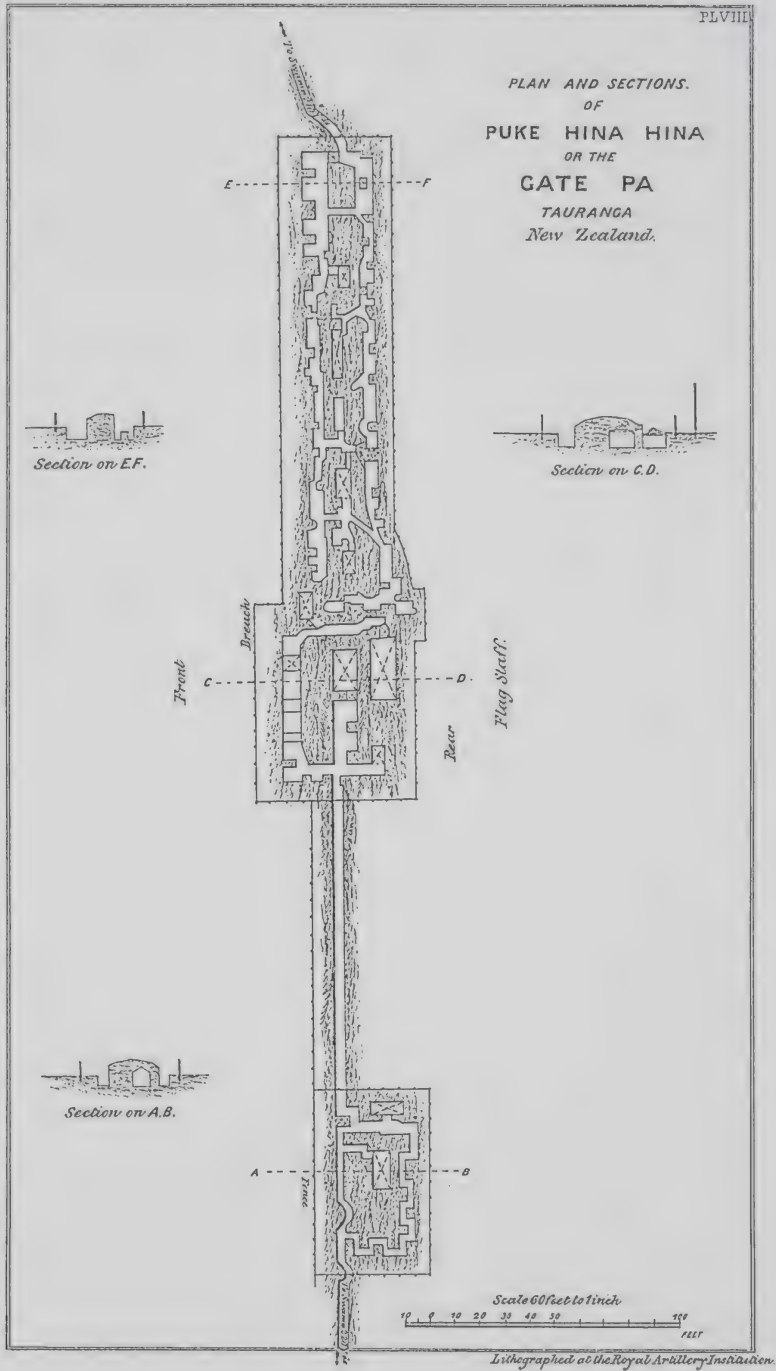


Fig. 2. Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) showing the large and small pa and connecting trench which extended each side to the harbour or adjacent swamp (Mould 1869).

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 3. Gate Pa the morning after the battle. Sketch by Lieutenant H.G. Robley. Auckland War Memorial Museum.

'... built by the Pirirakau (bush denizens) and Ngaitamawhariua hapus of Ngaiterangi and the Koheriki people. Heta and from thirty to thirty-five men garrisoned it. The large pa on the eastern side of the ridge was garrisoned by about two hundred men of the Ngaiterangi.' (Mair 1926:22)

On the principle that contemporary data is more likely to be correct than later reports, Reweti's total of 'under 200' Maori at Gate Pa is considered most likely to be correct. The Ngatai and Cowan figures date from long after the battle and their similarity suggests a shared source or general agreement at that time. The fighting strength brought together at Pukehinahina was made up largely of local Ngaiterangi, including Pirirakau, plus 30 Ngati Paoa from the Hauraki district. The main pa was commanded by Ngaiterangi chief, Rawiri Puhirake (see Rorke 1990), and the smaller by Wi Koka of Koheriki (Cowan ms a). Ngatai refers to, 'Our leaders – Rawiri Tuaia [Puhirake], Hakaraia Mahika, Timoti and Poihipi . . .' and also to a chief 'Te Haua' (McDonald ms).

Individuals from other tribes were involved, but no other tribal contingent – in contrast to the fight at Te Ranga in June where there were large contingents from outside the Tauranga district. Among listed casualties is a Ngati Raukawa chief, a Waikato man, one Ngati Maru and another 'supposed to be from Hauraki', and possibly also an individual from the Rotorua Ngati Rangiwewehi tribe (see Table 1). Other Arawa at Gate Pa were Heni Te Kiri Karamu and her brother Neri, of Ngati Uenukukopako and Ngati Hinepare (Oliver 1990b:461). Ngatai tells of Te Poihipi of Whakatohea taking part in the battle (Mair 1926:23), and Tamaki of the same

eastern Bay of Plenty tribe also apparently being present (Mair 1926:21). (But note that Wi Matenga Te Kuru of Te Arawa wrote on 28 April 1864 that Te Poihipi was killed at Otamarakau on 27 April (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 62)). Other Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Rangiwehewehi names are given by Te Kiri Karamu (above).

Exactly how many Maori were killed at Gate Pa on Friday 29 April 1864, or died of wounds afterwards, will never be known. A *Daily Southern Cross* (5 May 1864) report written two or three days after the battle states that, 'The natives acknowledge to a loss of thirty killed and missing.' Hori Ngatai puts the number at 'about 25' (Mair 1926:26), this apparently accepted by Cowan (1922–23 I:423), although his summary casualty list has twenty (Cowan 1922–23 I:453). Mair's (1926:17) figure of 'about' 45 is based on the wrong conclusion that 29 Maori dead were found by British troops the day after the battle.

On the principle of contemporary information being most likely to be accurate I take 30 killed or missing to be closest to the actual number, although this number may not include wounded prisoners, at least two of whom died after the number was reported. The number of wounded who escaped the pa but died later being cared for in Maori settlements is unknown. A total of 24 Maori are actually recorded as being killed or dying of wounds, including 19 bodies brought together at Gate Pa the morning after the battle, a chief named Piwharangi whose body was found a few days later and four men who died of wounds in the British hospital.

The Daily Southern Cross of 5 May reports that the Saturday morning after the battle (see Fig. 3) 19 Maori dead were found: 'Ten of these were killed in the pa, and nine in the swamp during the retreat.' Five are said to have been killed by rifle fire in the smaller pa. The report adds that a wounded prisoner died that night (30 April), bringing to 20 the number of confirmed dead at that time. This agrees with the GBPP report of 19 men 'killed' (see below). *The New-Zealander* (3 May 1864) carries a report that, 'One party of the 68th found ten dead natives lying in a heap amongst the fern', but this seems unlikely.

In his official report, General Cameron writes,

'The loss of the enemy must have been very heavy, although not more than twenty bodies and six wounded were found in and about their position. It is admitted by the prisoners that they carried off a large number of killed and wounded during the night, and they also suffered in attempting to make their escape . . .' (Cameron to Grey 5 May 1864, GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, pp. 37–38)

THE SOURCES

The best casualty information is provided by Thomas H. Smith, Civil Commissioner at Tauranga, enclosed in a report dated 3 May 1864, which was addressed probably to the Colonial Secretary at Auckland, and later forwarded to England with Governor Grey's official report (Table 1). It is published in the *British Parliamentary Papers* (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, pp. 63–64). The manuscript list in The National Archives, at Kew, London (Smith ms), is used here because of changes in the printed version including 'Kahopora' for 'Rahopora' and 'Ngaiteaki' for 'Ngaiteahi'. This is in turn clearly a copy of the original hand-written list made at Gate Pa. A second casualty list, acquired in the same circumstances but different enough to have depended on another informant, was published in the Auckland newspaper, *The Daily Southern Cross*, 5 May 1864, and reprinted without variation in *The Weekly News* on 7 May 1864 (Table 2). This is given as printed.

Table 1. Gate Pa Maori casualty list according to Thomas Smith, Civil Commissioner at Tauranga (The National Archives CO209/180; printed with errors in GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, pp. 63–64). The manuscript list is copied directly, except that the format has been altered for clarity, and bracketed information is repeated on consecutive lines where it applies.

List of casualties on the side of the Native Insurgents at the attack on Pukehinahina on the 29 th April 1864.	
Killed	
Te Monhouho	Ngatiraukawa chief of Patetere and the Wairoa
Tikiku	Native teacher at Poiki
Te Tuhi	of Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe
Tamihana	of Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe
Te Kau	chief of Tuhua Te Urangawera Tribe
Rotohiko	of Tuhua Te Urangawera tribe
Te Kiriparara	of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe
Te Wano	of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe
Te Kani	Brother of Rawiri Puhirake
Paiawa	of Poiki – Te Haenga
Te Motupuka	of Poiki of Waikato Ngatitawhaki
Ihau	brother of Henare Taratoa Te Ngare tribe
Petariki	of Te Matewaitai tribe
Timoti	of Matakana Ngaitamawhariu
Keni	of Otumoetai, Ngatiraukawa
Arama Karaka Kiritiana	Ngatimaru
Topatopa	Ngaitamarawaho
Te Harawira (?)	of Rotorua Ngatirangiwehehi
– not identified, supposed to be from Hauraki	
Wounded.	
Te Reweti Manotini	chief of [? – not given]
Te Rahopora	of Poiki (since dead)
Eruera	newpew [sic] of Rawiri Puhirake of Ohuki
Hone	of Ohuki
–	Ngatipaoa
–	Ngatipaoa

Both lists are based on the identification of bodies brought together by British soldiers at Gate Pa the morning after the battle.

‘Nineteen bodies were collected and placed in a row for identification. Of these, not more than four or five had been killed by shot or shell. Seven prisoners were taken in the course of the morning, of whom six were wounded. . . .’ (Smith letter, GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 62)

The Daily Southern Cross reporter describes British troops entering the pa on Saturday morning to locate and recover British and Maori casualties.

‘One Maori had been cut in two by a shell, and the head, trunk, and extremities were carefully gathered and placed in line with the remaining dead in front of the pa . . . The dead bodies were covered with blankets.’

Table 2. Gate Pa Maori casualty list first published in *The Daily Southern Cross*, 5 May 1864; reprinted without variation in *The Weekly News* 7 May 1864. Given here as originally published.

KILLED.	
NGAITERANGI TRIBE.	
Te Matewaitai hapu:–	Petarika Te Kanae.
Te Ngare hapu:–	Ihau Hoani.
Matekiwaho hapu:–	Te Kani.
	Eruera Taratikitiki.
Wrungawera hapu:–	Te Kau.
	Rotohiko.
	Kohamo.
Patutahora hapu:–	Kini.
Ngaitamawharina hapu:–	Timoti.
Ngatiteniha hapu:–	Tamihana Wahakore.
	Rahopora.
	Parawai.
Ngatiruahine hapu:–	Tikiku.
Ngaitamarawaho hapu:–	Tapatopa.
	Te Tuhi.
NGATUAUKAWA TRIBE.	
Pekekiioie hapu:–	Te Mouhouho.
WOUNDED.	
Reweti Mauotrini.	
Hone Amomako.	
Eru Noa.	
PRISONER.	
Niko, Ngapuhi tribe, Bay of Islands.	

Including wounded there appear to be 17 names on both lists, 13 of them among the dead identified at Gate Pa the morning after the battle.

Other published information on Maori casualties is from Hori Ngatai, speaking in 1903 to a Wellington audience. His story was translated by Gilbert Mair of the Native Department and taken down by a shorthand secretary (Mair 1926:20–26). There is also an account from the only woman in the pa, Heni Te Kiri Karamu, again recorded long after the battle, this time by James Cowan (1922–23 I:423–429).

In all sources there are problems arising out of the process by which records were made. For the *British Parliamentary Papers* (GBPP) and *The Daily Southern Cross* (TDSC) lists, a Maori

informant would have viewed the dead and given the names to a European recorder, likely to have been Smith and the newspaper correspondent. This provided the first opportunity for mistakes or spelling errors in the transmission of information. The hand-written list was then used by a typesetter to prepare the printed version that has come down to us. Similarities in hand-writing between n, u, i, a, r, etc., and other like letters, gave wide scope for mistakes in the printed version.

The information from Ngatai and Te Kiri Karamu presents other problems. The first is that the recollections date from long after the battle, 39 years in the case of Ngatai and 55 years with respect to Te Kiri Karamu. This gives ample time for the memory to be partial at least, and perhaps not always correct. Also, the record of what they said was made by others, providing further opportunity for errors despite Mair and Cowan being fluent Maori speakers and familiar with the Maori world.

In the papers of James McDonald, formerly Assistant Director of the Dominion Museum, now in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, is a foolscap typescript of what appears to be a carbon copy of the original typed record of Ngatai's address (McDonald ms). This is significantly different to the published version (Mair 1926 and 1937) and is a reminder of the difficulties in transmitting such information. The typescript is used here as being closer to what Ngatai said, but of course still may not be what he actually said. Another typescript of the address among the Cowan Papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library is somewhat different and not the version used by Mair (Cowan ms b). A typescript of Te Kiri Karamu's account to Cowan in 1919 is also among the Cowan Papers and again provides a useful check on the published version (Cowan ms a).

The typescript of Ngatai's 1903 address in the McDonald Papers, Hocken Library, Dunedin, gives Maori casualties as follows:

'... Petarika, Te Reweti, Manotini (taken the next day to Te Papa, where he died), Eru Puhirake, Te Kani, Reka, Tamatea, Ihaka, Te Wano, Te Rauhuhu, Tikiku, Te Rangihau, Te Keni, Te Wharepourī, Parawai, Wi Heti was both bayoneted and shot but got away. Hone Taheranga and Te Moananui were also wounded. The latter had three gunshot wounds.' (McDonald ms)

Elsewhere in the McDonald typescript Ngatai is reported as stating that, 'Te Kou was bayoneted to death, and many others received bayonet wounds', which did not reach the published version. Te Kani and Te Keni and 'a number of other men' are said to have been killed trying to break through the 68th Regiment cordon inland of the pa during the battle. Wounded are given as Te Ipu, Rerekaipuke ('my younger relative'), 'Raweti' (Reweti, see below; incorrectly 'Rawiri' in Mair 1926:25), and 'Wieri' ('Wiari' in Mair 1926:25).

The names Petarika, Te Reweti Manotini, Eru Puhirake, Te Kani, Te Wano, Tikiku, Te Keni, Parawai and 'Te Kou' (probably the Te Urungawera chief Te Kau), in the typescript, can be matched with names on the GBPP and TDSC lists. Other dead recorded by Ngatai and not elsewhere are: Reka, Tamatea, Ihaka, Te Rauhuhu, Te Rangihau and Te Wharepourī. Cowan's (1922–23 I:433) casualty list appears to be based on the Ngatai information.

Heni Te Kiri Karamu (or Heni Pore (Jane Foley), after her second husband), was the only woman in the pa when it was attacked, others who helped build it having been sent away. She states that the very first cannon shot killed two ministers, Hori and Iraihiā te Patu-witi, who were conducting prayers in the pa according to Church of England rites (Cowan 1922–23 I:426; and see Cowan ms a). Ngatai has a similar story, except that just one minister (Ihaka) was killed, while leading prayers (Mair 1926:24). Ngatai adds that some hours later, the tohunga Te Wano

was reciting karakia, again from an exposed position, only to be killed in the same way. Te Kiri Karamu also mentions 'Arema Karaka' as 'missing, believed killed' (Cowan ms a).

In the W.F. Gordon Papers in the Museum of New Zealand, is the following comment by Te Kiri Karamu, apparently dated 1903,

'... the chaplain who was killed by the first shell, was one of our men in our pa [i.e. the smaller pa] & his name was Hori, a Koheriki man, and not Ihaaka as is stated by Hori Ngatai, and there were two killed by the same shell, the other was Eraihia, he was also a layreader before the fight took place ...' (see Walker 1985:241)

Among sketches of Gate Pa by Lieutenant H.G. Robley is one of 'The remains of the Christian preacher in the Gate Pah, 30 April 1864', this being Hori as identified by Te Kiri Karamu (Walker 1985:241).

THE IDENTIFICATIONS OF 30 APRIL 1864

Resolving the different casualty data is not straightforward. Sources used here give the names of more than 30 Maori said to have been killed at Gate Pa or who later died of wounds. Some names will be incorrect: individuals were wrongly identified at the time, or incorrectly stated to have killed, or individuals were known by more than one name. Research carried out by someone familiar with Ngaiterangi/ Ngati Ranginui and other relevant whakapapa may help clarify matters. Contemporary sources are more likely to be accurate than later recollections – ignoring for now the age-old capacity for disinformation in war. Also, since the major identification exercise at Gate Pa the morning after the battle was almost certainly carried out by local people the identification of local casualties is more likely correct than those from outside the Tauranga district.

Table 3 gives a preliminary list of the 19 men laid out for identification at Gate Pa on Saturday morning. Only new information will improve on this. The table is based largely on the manuscript *British Parliamentary Papers* list, which gives 18 names plus one unidentified. Except for the wounded who died in hospital, the only new name in *The Daily Southern Cross* is Kohamo, who, as a local man, is unlikely to have been wrongly identified. Table 3 is in two sections: the 13 names in both lists may be regarded as confirmed identifications. The second section is of those only in one list, of whom Arama Karaka and Te Wano are confirmed by Te Kiri Karamu and Ngatai respectively. Thus we appear to have 15 confirmed names. The total of 20 identifications is one more than the 19 bodies laid out. Where this leaves the evidence of Te Kiri Karamu for Hori and Iraihia being killed in the pa, or the other dead named by Ngatai, is not clear.

The Daily Southern Cross reported five killed by rifle fire in the smaller pa (see above), but Ngati Paoa who made up three-quarters of the garrison are not represented in either of the Saturday morning lists of those killed, although the unidentified man in the GBPP list '... said to be from Hauraki' may be from that tribe. Te Kiri Karamu's 'Arema Karaka' in the small pa is presumably the same as Arama Karaka Kiritiana of Ngati Maru (a Hauraki tribe) in the GBPP list. The two Pirirakau killed are likely also to have been in the small pa. There are many reasons for labelling this a preliminary list.

The Daily Southern Cross report of 5 May 1864 describes the burial two days after the battle of the 19 men, most or all of whom will be identified in Table 3.

Table 3. Preliminary list of Maori casualties identified at Gate Pa on Saturday 30 April 1864, from contemporary records in manuscript *British Parliamentary Papers* data (Smith ms) and *The Daily Southern Cross*.

A. Names appearing in both lists.

Ihau Hoani

TDSC gives the above name, and the hapu as Te Ngare; Smith (ms) has 'Ihau brother of Henare Taratoa Te Ngare tribe'. In his February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .' Smith associates the Te Ngare tribe with the settlement of Opounui on Rangiwaea Island (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13).

Parawai/Paiawa

An error in transcription is likely for 'Paiawa' – or there are two men here. Ngatai has 'Parawai'. The ms GBPP list gives 'Paiawa of Poiki – Te Haenga', that is, from Poiki – presumably of a hapu or group called 'Te Haenga'. TDSC gives 'Parawai' of Ngatiteniha hapu. Neither tribe is in Smith's February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .', where Poiki (or 'Hairini') is located on the south side of Waimapu Estuary (where there is a Poike Road today), and associated with the 'Ngai te Ahi' (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13).

Petarika Te Kanae

TDSC gives the above name, and hapu as Te Matewaitai; Ngatai also has Petarika (see McDonald ms); GBPP gives 'Petariki, of Te Matewaitai tribe.' In the February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .', Te Matewaitai are associated with the settlement of Otuatara near Otumoetai (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13).

Rotohiko

Of Te Urungawera hapu, Tuhua (Mayor Island) in GBPP and TDSC lists. See Te Kau entry.

Tamihana Wahakore

The above name is given in TDSC, which also gives Ngatiteniha hapu. In the GBPP list (Smith ms) is 'Tamihana of Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe'. See Parawai entry regarding Ngaiteahi.

Te Kani

Described in the GBPP ms list as brother of Rawiri Puhirake; TDSC gives Matekiwaho hapu. In his February 1864 'Return showing Native Settlements and Tribes in Tauranga . . .', Smith locates the 'Te Matekiwaho' tribe to Te Apititu on the south side of Rangataua Bay, Tauranga Harbour (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13).

Te Kau

Described in GBPP list as 'chief of Tuhua [Mayor Island], Te Urangawera tribe'; the spelling of Te Urungawera is wrong in both major sources. 'Te Kou' in McDonald (ms).

Te Keni

Ngatai gives the name as above; Smith (ms) has 'Keni of Otumoetai, Ngatiraukawa'; the TDSC list has 'Kini' of Patutahora hapu – this hapu lived at Otumoetai according to the 1864 list of settlements and tribes of the Tauranga district (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13).

Te Mouhouho

Ngatiraukawa, Pekekiote hapu, according to TDSC; spelt incorrectly in Smith (ms) where he is described as 'Ngatiraukawa chief of Paterere and the Wairoa'.

Te Tuhi

TDSC gives Ngaitamarawaho hapu; GBPP ms list has 'Poiki Ngaiteahi Tribe.' The Ngaitamarawaho lived at Huria on the north side of the head of the Waikareao Estuary (AJHR 1864 E-2 p. 13). See 'Parawai/Paiawa' entry regarding Poiki.

(cont.)

Table 3 (continued)

Tikiku

Described in the GBPP ms list as 'Native teacher at Poiki'; TDSC gives Ngatiruahine hapu, who lived at 'Poihakena, Ranana' – near Poiki (see AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13). 'Tikiku' in McDonald (ms) but, incorrectly it would seem, 'Tikuku' in Mair (1926:26).

Timoti

'of Matakana Ngaitamawhariu' in GBPP ms list; TDSC gives Ngaitamawharina hapu. Correct is Ngaitamawhariua.

Topatopa or Tapatopa

'Ngaitamarawaho' according to Smith (ms) and TDSC; TDSC has 'Tapatopa'. The Ngaitamarawaho lived at Huria on the north side of the head of Waikareao Estuary (AJHR 1864 E–2 p. 13).

B. Names appearing in one list only.

Arama Karaka Kiritiana

Of Ngatimaru – according to manuscript list for GBPP. Presumably 'Arema Karaka' in Te Kiri Karamu's record.

Kohamo

Te Urungawera hapu – TDSC list only.

Te Harawira

Of Ngatirangiwehewehi – according to GBPP ms list, where there is a question mark after the personal name but not after the tribe. The query may be in the original list to suggest the identification is uncertain, or it indicates an unsure transcription from the original.

Te Kiriparara

'of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe' according to the GBPP ms list. The two Pirirakau men in the GBPP list, Te Kiriparara and Te Wano, were not identified by the TDSC informant.

Te Motupuka

'... of Poiki of Waikato Ngatitawhaki' according to the GBPP ms list, which is the only record.

Te Wano

'... of Te Wairoa – Te Pirirakau Tribe' according to the GBPP ms list; Ngatai (in Mair 1926:24) records Te Wano as a tohunga, killed when reciting karakia from an exposed position. See the Te Kiriparara entry.

– not identified, supposed to be from Hauraki (GBPP ms list)

'Yesterday (Sunday [1 May]) the dead rebels were buried close to the Gate pa, in graves prepared for them by their countrymen, assisted by men of the Flying Column. The day was miserably wet throughout. The Venerable Archdeacon Brown read the burial service. General Sir Duncan A. Cameron, K.C.B., had sent over two natives to the friendly hapu on the south side of the harbour early on Sunday, to say that if the natives desired it, they had his permission to come over and bury their dead; if not, that he would order them a proper burial. Twenty men afterwards came over, and these formed the burial party. They laid the common men in a row, and the chiefs and more important personages across their stomachs, and then covered them with earth. This was done in accordance with an old Maori saying – "Kati ano ia kia mate hei whariki ano aku rangatira" – it is well (or proper) that he should die to be a couch for my chiefs.'

Thomas Smith's account of the burial is slightly different (GBPP 1864 [3386], Vol. XLI, p. 63).

'The day after the engagement Wm. Patene and the friendly chiefs at the Matapihi requested permission to bury the dead, which was readily granted by General Cameron, on my application. Accordingly on Sunday the 1st inst. I accompanied a party of 18 natives to Pukehinahina. They assisted to dig a grave about 50 yards from the entrenchment, within the boundary of the Church Missionary Society's land, and placed the bodies in it. The Venerable Archdeacon Brown attended, and read a portion of the burial service over the dead; after which the grave was filled in by the natives, and a low mound raised to mark the last resting place of their unfortunate countrymen.'

Mair (1926:17) describes the grave as west of Cameron Road, '... between it and the swamp in the grove of trees there.' The grave is understood to be in the reserve off St George St, its exact location being unknown to the writer.

Another casualty was found a few days after the battle on 4 May, *The Daily Southern Cross* of 7 May reporting:

'On Wednesday last Mr Rice, accompanied by a number of friendly natives, searched the swamp near Gate Pa, where the great fight took place. They found the body of Pi Wharangi, a third-rate chief. He had been wounded in the temple and the thigh, and was interred near the camp.'

The New-Zealander of 7 May reports that, 'Mr. Rice, of the Native department,' with a few natives,

'... came upon the remains of a chief named Piuharangi; the body was found some considerable distance from the gate. It was so offensive that a hole was dug and the body placed in it.

This chief belonged to the Ngaterangi tribe, and, though a person of great birth, never took any prominent lead in Maori affairs. He is well spoken of by the old settlers, as having been a very quiet, inoffensive character.'

According to Mair (1926:17), 'Piwharangi' '... was found and placed with the others' – i.e. in the mass grave near Gate Pa.

The Daily Southern Cross (5 May 1864) tells of enquiries by wounded Maori prisoners as to whether the bodies of 'Ta Tara' and other chiefs had been found, thus providing the name of another man who may have been killed.

THE WOUNDED

Wounded men found in the pa on Saturday morning were taken to the British camp and attended to there (TDSC 5 May 1864). The GBPP report gives six wounded including two unnamed Ngati Paoa, one of whom is presumably 'Eru Noa' on the TDSC list. Te Kiri Karamu (Cowan ms a) gives 'Ihaka (shot in the ankle and taken prisoner), [and] Hone (wounded in the shoulder)'; Ihaka is likely to have been the second wounded Ngati Paoa (Koheriki), captured the day after the battle, and Hone, probably 'Hone of Ohuki' (see Table 1). Four of the wounded were later to die, including Rahopora and Eruera who are named among wounded in the GBPP list but shown as killed in *The Daily Southern Cross* (see Tables 1 and 2).

'Rahopora' of Ngatiteniha hapu died in hospital on Saturday night (TDSC 5 May 1864). 'Eruera Taratikiki' died no later than Monday since he is reported as dead in *The Daily Southern Cross* article sent that day to Auckland. Eruera is listed in the TDSC as belonging to the same

Matekiwaho hapu as Te Kani who is said to have been Rawiri Puhirake's brother (see Table 3); among GBPP ms list wounded is 'Eruera – nephew [sic] of Rawiri Puhirake of Ohuki', who is almost certainly the same man. The newspaper report also states that, 'Arue, nephew of Rawiri their fighting general, is wounded', again probably the same man. Ngatai gives 'Eru Puhirake' as having been killed.

Another of the wounded in both lists is Reweti Manotini. *The Daily Southern Cross* states that he '... was wounded in seven places by bullets, and had both his legs broken'. He is also referred to as 'Davis' in the report, and is described as '... private secretary and agent for Wm. Thompson [Ngati Haua chief, and 'Kingmaker', Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi] in the Bay of Plenty.' Letters from Tamihana to Reweti early in the Waikato War are published in AJHR (1865, E11, pp. 14–15; and see also Stokes 2002:343–345). He is reported in the TDSC of 5 May as having written to his wife, '... telling her how very kind the pakehas had been to him and the other wounded men.' But on being asked if the Maoris had had enough of fighting, '... he replied, "Ka he, ka he, ka he," meaning "wrong, wrong, wrong."' His right leg was amputated below the knee, but he died at 4 a.m. on Sunday, 8 May (*The New-Zealander* 12 May 1864). Several 'respectable friendly chief's' attended Reweti's burial at 9 a.m. on 9 May, Archdeacon Brown reading the burial service. Several copies exist of a picture by Lieutenant Robley of the wounded Reweti in Gate Pa on the morning of April 30 (Walker 1985:237–240).

Also named in the GBPP ms list of wounded is 'Hone of Ohuki', presumably Hone Amomako in *The Daily Southern Cross* list. Two Ngati Paoa including Eru Noa and probably Ihaka complete the GBPP wounded. In *The Daily Southern Cross* of 12 May 1864 it is reported that two prisoners died on 8 May, but only Reweti is identified. The only remaining prisoner had had one leg amputated but was said to be doing well, suggesting Ihaka who was shot in the ankle.

In its report of the battle, *The Daily Southern Cross* (5 May 1864) names other wounded men, an unknown number of whom quit Gate Pa on Friday night. Atewera, of the same (Ngaitamawhariua) hapu as the leading chief Timoti, is said to have escaped with a wound in his thigh. From the same hapu, Pomare left the pa with a severe wound in the arm, and Ihaiah and Tihi are reported as missing. Ngatai (McDonald ms) states that, 'Wi Heti was both bayoneted and shot but got away. Hone Taheranga and Te Moananui were also wounded. The latter had three gunshot wounds.' He also names Te Ipu and 'Wieri' as being badly wounded trying to get through the British cordon inland of the pa during the battle, and Rerekaipuke also wounded.

The prisoner Niko in the TDSC list is later mentioned in *The New Zealander* (7 May 1864) which tells of 'Hare Honi Niho' arriving a prisoner in Auckland, asserting that he had not been fighting and was wrongfully made a prisoner. *The Daily Southern Cross* of the same date had more to say concerning this man:

'A rebel prisoner, captured by a party of the 68th, has been brought up by the 'Falcon.' He was taken about five miles from the Gate Pa, and declares that he was not engaged in the encounter, which, however, if true, does not alter his position.'

THE 'CENOTAPH' PROJECT

The information reported here is part of a project to develop a database record of Maori and Pakeha killed in the New Zealand Wars. This is a further development of the Auckland War Memorial Museum 'Cenotaph' database, originally designed as a record of New Zealanders who lost their lives in overseas wars including the South African War (1899–1902), the First and

Second World Wars and other subsequent conflicts, but since then enlarged to include all who served overseas. This database is widely used by descendants, who add information and portraits to their family member's record, to share these with other descendants and database users. 'Cenotaph' is a growing and evolving resource of great significance for many New Zealanders.

The New Zealand Wars were fundamentally different to overseas conflicts in which New Zealanders served and gave their lives, in that the fighting took place in this country – between Maori and Pakeha and among Maori groups. In all campaigns, from 1845 to the early 1870s, Pakeha casualties are better recorded than Maori. The colonial government and British Army in New Zealand required detailed reports, and possessed a bureaucracy which supplied them. Newspapers also reported at length on the fighting.

There is nonetheless a surprising amount of data available on Maori casualties, which is not always widely known. A start is made here in making available for descendants and students of the period the published data on one important battle. It is hoped this will prompt the recovery of more information on individuals whose names are given, and on other casualties where records may be available in oral or manuscript form or elsewhere. The information presented will be entered in the Auckland War Memorial Museum 'Cenotaph' database as it is developed to include the New Zealand Wars.

Acknowledgements. I would like to thank Auckland Museum volunteer Elise Edwards who for some years has worked with me on the project to record published names of Maori and Europeans killed in the New Zealand Wars. Francean McCall of St George's Church, Tauranga, has been generally helpful, not least in showing me the location of the grave of Maori killed at Gate Pa. Jinty Rorke drew my attention to Tim Walker's thesis. Hocken and Alexander Turnbull library staff provided copies Ngatai and Te Kiri Karamu manuscript material.

REFERENCES

PUBLISHED WORKS

- BELICH, J.
1986 *The New Zealand Wars; and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict.* Auckland, Auckland University Press.
- COWAN, J.
1922–23 *The New Zealand Wars* (2 vols). Wellington, Government Printer.
- MAIR, G.
1926 *The Story of Gate Pa; April 29th, 1864.* Tauranga, Bay of Plenty Times.
1937 *The Story of Gate Pa; April 29th, 1864.* Tauranga, Bay of Plenty Times.
- MOULD, T.R.
1869 Sketch of military proceedings in New Zealand, from the termination of the Waitara Campaign in March, 1861. *Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers* (new series) 17:12–42.
- OLIVER, S.
1990a Hori Ngatai. Pp. 311–312, in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Vol. 1). Wellington, Allen and Unwin/ Department of Internal Affairs.
1990b Heni Te Kiri Karamu. Pp. 460–461, in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Vol. 1). Wellington, Allen and Unwin/ Department of Internal Affairs.
- RORKE, J.
1990 Rawiri Puhirake. Pp. 355–356, in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Vol. 1). Wellington, Allen and Unwin/ Department of Internal Affairs.
- STOKES, E.
2002 *Wiremu Tamihana; rangatira.* Wellington, Huia.

WALKER, T.

- 1985 Robley: Te Ropere 1840–1930. Unpublished thesis M.A. in Art History, University of Auckland.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

AJHR *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*

GBPP *British Parliamentary Papers*

WAR OFFICE

- 1864 *Journals of the Deputy Quartermaster General in New Zealand.* War Office, 0270.I.

- 1865 *Selections from Despatches and Letters Relative to the Conduct of Military Operations in New Zealand 1860–5.* War Office, 0270 II.

NEWSPAPERS

The Daily Southern Cross [TDSC]

The New-Zealander

The Weekly News

MANUSCRIPTS

COWAN, J.

- ms a 'Heni Te Kiri–Karamu. A heroine of the Gate Pa.' Typescript 23 pp. James Cowan Papers 0039–41E. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- ms b 'Narrative of the fight at Gate Pa.' Typescript 5 pp. James Cowan Papers 0039–41C. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

McDONALD, J.E.

- ms 'The Battle of Gate Pa. A Maori survivor's story. How Ngaiterangi repulsed the Pakeha.' Typescript 11 pp. James Ingram McDonald Papers, MS–0408. Hocken Library, Dunedin.

SMITH, T.H.

- ms 'Inclosure I. List of casualties on the side of the Native Insurgents at the attack on Pukehinahina on the 29th April 1864.' In Smith to Colonial Secretary, Auckland, 3 May 1864. The National Archives (London) CO 209/180.

NIGEL PRICKETT, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Private Bag 92018, Auckland, New Zealand.